NATIONAL REVIEW

25 Cents

May 10, 1958

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Rent Control in Britain

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

The Educationist Book-Burners

RUSSELL KIRK

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
FRANK CHODOROV · PETER MINOT · WILLIAM ROMAN
E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN · ALLAN HOUSE RYSKIND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For the Record

An Illinois resident imprisoned in divers Soviet forced labor camps for nine and a half years estimates that some 3,000 other Americans—mostly GI's from World War Two—are still being held.

The Soviet delegation to the presidential inauguration in Argentina has made special efforts to open diplomatic relations with Brazil and Chile, and to negotiate purchases of coffee and copper. It's reported the Soviet head of delegation will undertake a grand tour of South America later, following the trail of Vice President Nixon. . . . The Japanese are resentful of American press attacks on their "trade treaty" talks with Red China. Negotiations have broken off, but the trade will be conducted without a treaty, in the words of one Japanese businessman, "just like the British, the Germans and the Americans."

Sign of the times: All executives of a major railroad have just taken a 10 per cent cut in salary while thousands of employees received a four cents per hour salary increase—to meet the rising cost of living.

Senate colleagues insist that Senator John McClellan now takes himself seriously as a Democratic Presidential nominee in 1960, and hopes to shuffle Senator John Kennedy into the Vice-Presidential spot. . . . The leading contender for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in Connecticut is John Alsop. If he is nominated, the Republican candidate will lose.

The government of West Germany, which outlawed the Communist Party in August 1956, has just opened the first trials of fifteen members of the party on charges of distributing subversive literature and holding illegal meetings. . . . The Socialist opposition to Adenauer has introduced legislation calling for a national referendum on nuclear armament for West Germany and on the construction of rocket bases. Adenauer's massive majority will kill the motion.

The New York Daily News quoted Senator Jacob Javits (Rep.) last week as saying "They [the taxpayers] are numb because taxes seem dull and painful rather than vital and exciting." New Yorkers were reminded of the 1955 statement by their Democratic Governor Averell Harriman: "The people must be educated to the satisfaction of paying taxes."

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS

L. Brent Bozell — James Burnham
John Chamberlain — Whittaker Chambers
Willmoore Kendall — Suzanne La Follette
Frank S. Meyer

PRODUCTION EDITOR: Mabel Wood
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Sam M. Jones

ASSOCIATES

Maureen L. Buckley — Priscilla L. Buckley
Jonathan Mitchell — *Morrie Ryskind*

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, John C. Caldwell, Frank Chodorov, John Abbot Clark, Forrest Davis, A. Derso, Max Eastman, Medford Evans, Karl Hess, John D. Kreuttner, J. B. Matthews, Gerhart Niemeyer, Revilo Oliver, E. Merrill Root, Richard M. Weaver, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, Garry Wills

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: Anthony Lejeune — *Madrid*: J. Dervin
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn

ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden

CONTENTS MAY 10, 1958 VOL. V, NO. 19

THE WEEK 435

ARTICLES
Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe
Harry Elmer Barnes 441

DEPARTMENTS
For the Record 434
National Trends .....Peter Minot 446
Letter from London .....Anthony Lejeune 447
Letter from the Continent
E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn 448
From the Academy .....Russell Kirk 453
To the Editor 454

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS
Thirties Period Piece .....John Chamberlain 449
The Seabee Speaks of Freedom
Frank Chodorov 450
The Pretty World of Mr. Cousins
William Roman 451
Books in Brief 452

VERSE
"Summit Time, and the Giving is Easy"
Allan House Ryskind 443

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly, except the second and third weeks in August, by National Weekly, Inc. Copyrighted 1958 in the U.S.A. by National Weekly, Inc. Second-class mail privileges authorized at Orange, Conn.

EDITORIAL AND SUBSCRIPTION OFFICES:
211 East 37th St.
New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone MUrray Hill 2-0941

RATES: Twenty-five cents a copy, $8.00 a year, $15.00 for two years. Foreign, $10.00 a year; Canada, $9.00 a year.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The WEEK

● How far is Liberal defeatism, as personified by the current-phase Walter Lippmann, prepared to go? Mr. Lippmann's latest column makes the flat statement that a) "As things are now, the last thing that any sane man wants to see is an open rebellion in Eastern Europe," b) Yugoslavia and Poland "think of the West as a protector against Germany," and, a little further along in the column to be sure, c) "the basic fact [is] that Poland and Yugoslavia . . . must unavoidably react between the Russians on the one side, *the Germans and the Americans on the other.*" In a word: since those aggressive Americans, with their megalomaniac dreams of Empire, are equally guilty with the Russians for the current tensions in international politics, the time has now come for us to back down. And he finds a new way of saying it each week.

● The United Automobile Workers and the General Motors and Ford Motor Co. managements have reached the Alphonse-Gaston stage of negotiation. "We prefer not to strike now," says Alphonse-UAW, asking for an extension of present contract arrangements until the autumn. "We can't accept such consideration," says Gaston-GM-Ford, "please strike now if you must and get it over with." The pseudo-politeness of the two parties underscores the obvious: the union is in a poor position to strike as long as there are close to a million unsold new automobiles in dealers' hands At long last Mr. Walter Reuther is reposing over a barrel, a position in which he has had his opponents for most of his life. We hope the spanking we hope he is about to receive will induce a little humility—say, as much as there is benzoate of soda in a bottle of ketchup, which is about all he could absorb at a single time.

● Having approved measures that would a) affirm the right of the individual states to keep anti-subversive legislation on the books (a move to undo the Supreme Court's *Nelson* decision); and b) reaffirm the intention of the Smith Act to penalize advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government (a move to undo the Supreme Court's *Yates* decision), the Senate Judiciary Committee is expected to send the Butler Bill (the other provisions of which were detailed last week), virtually intact, to the Senate floor; where we may just possibly see the liveliest row since they censured old Joe McCarthy.

● "There is nothing wrong with the American educational system," Agnes E. Meyer, wife of the publisher of the *Washington Post,* and sometimes referred to as *La Boca Chica,* recently told a House subcommittee, "that money can't cure." Mrs. Meyer, herself expensively educated and the wife of a very rich man, points up the insufficiency of her formula. You've got to mix the money with a little common sense to get something worthwhile.

● Addressing the National Association of Evangelicals Convention in Chicago, Dr. Albert J. Lindsey, a Presbyterian minister, bore down on the cult of social welfare. "The Bible," Dr. Lindsey said, "does not view social injustice by itself, but as the consequence of a greater evil . . . This evil is that men do not fear God and do not keep His commandments, but bow down to idols of various sorts . . . The present idols undoubtedly seem to be man *and* society." Nowadays the "average person finds his heart living in the social issues alone"; under the circumstances, said Dr. Lindsey—enjoining upon the convention the tallest order—let the "church be truly the church, nothing more, nothing less."

● The latest reason advanced for doing what the Soviet Union wants us to do (and itself professes to be doing) about nuclear tests is something called Carbon 14, and the custodian of the nation's wisdom about it is, as you would expect, Dr. Linus C. Pauling. Strontium 90, he assures us in his latest hysterical pronouncement, is as bad as he always said it was, but small potatoes still, as a "long-term menace," compared to this new one. The facts about Carbon 14 (we'll be hearing 'em often enough, so let's get 'em straight right now) are: it isn't much of an immediate threat, but in the 10,000 years following 1963 it will do 200—not 199, not 201—*200* times as much harm as strontium 90; enough of it has been loosed by atomic bombs already exploded to cause 5 million genetically defective children in the next 300 generations; it will, in the same period, produce millions of bone cancer and leukemia cases. And don't, Dr. Pauling as good as adds, let Teller tell you different.

● Mr. Allen Dulles, boss of the Central Intelligence Agency, has warned us that the recession is an "expensive luxury" which can only result in the Soviet Union getting something of a drop on us both economically and militarily. Waiving the fact that the Soviet Union has itself been in a chronic depression ever since the abolition of the New Economic Policy in the late nineteen twenties, we wonder what Mr. Dulles would have us do about getting rid of our own "luxurious" penury of the moment. Inflation? Public works? Crop subsidies? A distorted armament program designed to soak up unemployment? Just how would any of these things make us stronger *vis-à-vis* the Soviets? To use words accurately, it is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

things like these that have been the "luxuries" of the past, for which we are now paying with a recession which is no luxury, but a painful purgation which could lead to renewed health.

● Opponents of progressive education have won an important victory in New York State: the Board of Regents has reversed an earlier ruling (NATIONAL REVIEW, April 19) which would have raised from eighteen to twenty-four the hours of "education" courses required of teachers in the state. Moreover, the Board now demands that science teachers take fifty-four, rather than thirty, "subject matter" hours in science; that English teachers take thirty, rather than eighteen, hours in English; that mathematics teachers take thirty, rather than fifteen, hours in—you guessed it—mathematics. If this trend continues, teachers may again know what they are teaching.

● The deterioration in race relations since the spring of 1954 has become so obvious that such committed compulsory integrationists as Messrs. Ralph Bunche, Allan Nevins and Whitney North Seymour met with thirty-five of their fellows at Arden House in Harriman, New York to discuss the "crisis." The group recommended that "moderate citizens [be restored] to the center of the stage," and that the "bridge of communications" between Negroes and whites be restored. It did not go so far as to name the cause of this crisis: the sociological pioneering of the Supreme Court.

● Achieving a record that is without parallel in Asian history, Taiwan (Formosa) reports that during 1957 it had no serious contagious diseases. Of the 247,723 cases of smallpox, cholera, bubonic plague and typhus recorded in Southeast Asia (more than 90,000 of them fatal), there was not one in Free China. As recently as 1951 Taiwan had more than one million cases of malaria, with 12,000 deaths. Last year there were only a hundred odd, with no deaths. Good health seems to be an imperialist plot.

● The Cabinet of Prime Minister Eamon de Valera is in crisis, and sits late at night wrestling with the problem: Do leprechauns exist? Twenty government employees are on trial for their jobs, having refused to build a fence in Belmullet, County Mayo, because to do so on the designated spot would be to desecrate the site of a well-known fairy palace. If the Cabinet concludes that leprechauns do *not* exist, then it must punish the recalcitrant employees—and face an irate 30,000-man union. If the Cabinet concedes the existence of leprechauns, Ireland will become pock-marked by untouchable sites where local residents have seen—with their *own eyes*—leprechauns dancing in the dawn. And so, twisting about to avoid sacrilege, a state road from Tipperary to Belfast would look like the wake of a hula dancer. On the other hand, it would serve anyone right, who left Tipperary to go to Belfast.

● Israel—presumably out of gratitude to the USSR for its assistance to Israeli well-wishers like President Nasser?—has officially lent its support to the Soviet position on suspending nuclear tests.

● Who says the Teamsters Union is shameless? Guided tours through the Union's posh headquarters in Washington have been suspended until "the administration stabilizes."

Mr. Powell, Meet the Press

If one can believe U.S. Attorney Paul Williams *this* time, the Justice Department has really gone back to work, now that only four weeks are left to the Grand Jury to investigate the tax returns of Adam Clayton Powell Jr.—an investigation suspended arbitrarily fourteen months ago. Mr. Williams fed a whole lot of palpable nonsense to the press, about how the Justice Department had used up those fourteen months to "weigh" the case. Perhaps he will get away with it.

What happened, of course, is that the Grand Jury, prodded by Mr. Thomas Bolan and NATIONAL REVIEW, threatened to take matters into its own hands, and Mr. Williams, presumably on orders from Washington, caved in. We shall keep our readers posted on developments, although it is no longer as necessary to do so as it was during the long drought: the national press, several months late, seems to have caught on . . .

We had a call, a week ago, from an editor of *Newsweek,* which up to that point had printed not a line on the matter. Would we tell him all we knew about the Adam Clayton Powell case? We obliged: furthermore, we sent him down, by messenger, a copy of our original article giving the whole story of the Powell case. The story on Powell appears, duly, in the current issue of *Newsweek;* a lavish treatment, indeed, which leaves out any mention of NATIONAL REVIEW's original story, or its role in reconvening the jury, or its courtesy in supplying *Newsweek* with the facts. But perhaps *Newsweek* found it embarrassing, in an issue datelined May 5, to reprint a story dug up by NATIONAL REVIEW, and datelined December 14.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Showdown Coming Up

In the dark and fetid bureaucratic jungles that line the banks of the Potomac, a concealed but relentless combat, the outcome of which is momentous for all the world, is now fully engaged. Let us try to bring our sights to bear.

On June 30 the present term of Lewis Strauss as member and chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission comes to an end. The issue of the combat is direct: will Admiral Strauss be renominated by the President for another term, and therein confirmed by the Senate? The answer to that question is the symbol and symptom by which to forecast the entire basic course of international affairs over the remainder of the Eisenhower Administration. For in that answer will be affirmed the President's choice between outright appeasement of Moscow and a minimum, at least, of continuing resistance to her world revolutionary advance.

It is Admiral Strauss as administrator, with E. O. Lawrence, Edward Teller and their friends as his incorruptible scientific colleagues, who have led the inner guard at the gate of the nation's final strategic reserve: its nuclear arsenal. It is they who built our H-bombs—without which we should now be helpless before Soviet power—against the fierce opposition of the Robert Oppenheimer clique; they who have kept at any rate *some* secrets out of the enemy's possession; and they who have pressed ahead with production, experiments and tests vital to the nation's security.

At this moment the decision between them and the appeasers is focused on a single point: shall we bow to the Soviet demand for an ending of nuclear tests? Their answer is *No*. The appeasers, with a single voice echoing the call of the Kremlin, answer *Yes*.

Under the fatuous Eisenhower administrative doctrine that men of opposite views can, by stretching their grins wide enough, be brought together on the same "team" to work together for the good of the country, Oppenheimer's men—the appeasers, the sworn and vengeful enemies of Strauss and Lawrence and Teller—have in the past six months been brought within the inner citadel. Professor I. I. Rabi of Columbia, who only four months ago told the London *Times* that the refusal to reinstate Robert Oppenheimer was a proof of lingering "McCarthyite hysteria," has been chairman of the President's science advisory committee, and has just been appointed U.S. scientific delegate to NATO. In the post-Sputnik confusion, James R. Killian Jr., of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who testified on Oppenheimer's behalf and continues to defend him without qualification, was made the government's new science boss. And a few days ago, Professor Hans Bethe of Cornell, friend and colleague of the long fellow-traveling Philip Morrison, and himself Oppenheimer's sidekick in the campaign to block development of the H-bomb, was appointed—on Mr. Killian's nomination—to head the new "Presidential study on disarmament."

At last week's meeting of Senator Hubert Humphrey's Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Disarmament, the contestants put the issue on the table. *The tests must go on,* witnesses Strauss and Teller asserted. *Suspend the tests at once even if Moscow agrees to nothing else,* declared Professor Bethe, with the ink on his Presidential commission not yet dry.

A final straw in the raging wind. In the April 27 *New York Times,* James Reston, who is normally the voice of the State Department's Foreign Service, reported that in spite of appearances, Secretary Dulles has swung to the side of test suspension—that he is ready to liquidate Admiral Strauss, and join the appeasers. It is hard to believe that Mr. Dulles could be guilty of so gross an irresponsibility to the trust that he has carried with such notable sense and patriotism. Were Mr. Reston and his informants merely engaged in wishful thinking?

NATIONAL REVIEW will publish in the next week or two a documented study by Medford Evans which will show, by the record, why the appeasers must have Admiral Strauss' blood—and how great will be the nation's wound if they get it.

Who's Afraid of the . . .

Senator William Knowland's bold attempt to bypass the Senate Labor Committee, widely recognized as a graveyard for legislation displeasing to organized labor, by adding amendments to a Democratic-sponsored one-point labor bill, failed: with the single exception of Senator Lausche, every Democrat and ten Republicans voted against the amendments.

A number of the nay-saying Senators hastened to assure the press that they did *not* oppose Knowland's proposal to require all unions to elect officers by secret ballot at least every four years, nor the penalties provided by another for "sweetheart contracts" (in which racketeering union leaders sign contracts favorable to employers). Rather they had voted against Knowland either because they disapproved of "writing legislation on the floor of the Senate" and would wait for the Senate Labor Committee to report out similar legislation (which it has been sitting on for the past four years) or because, to quote that parliamentary stickler, Senator Ives, the Knowland amendments would have made "a hodgepodge of the [Democratic] bill."

Naturally, none of them was the least bit scared of labor leader threats about what the unions would do to them at the polls. Naturally.

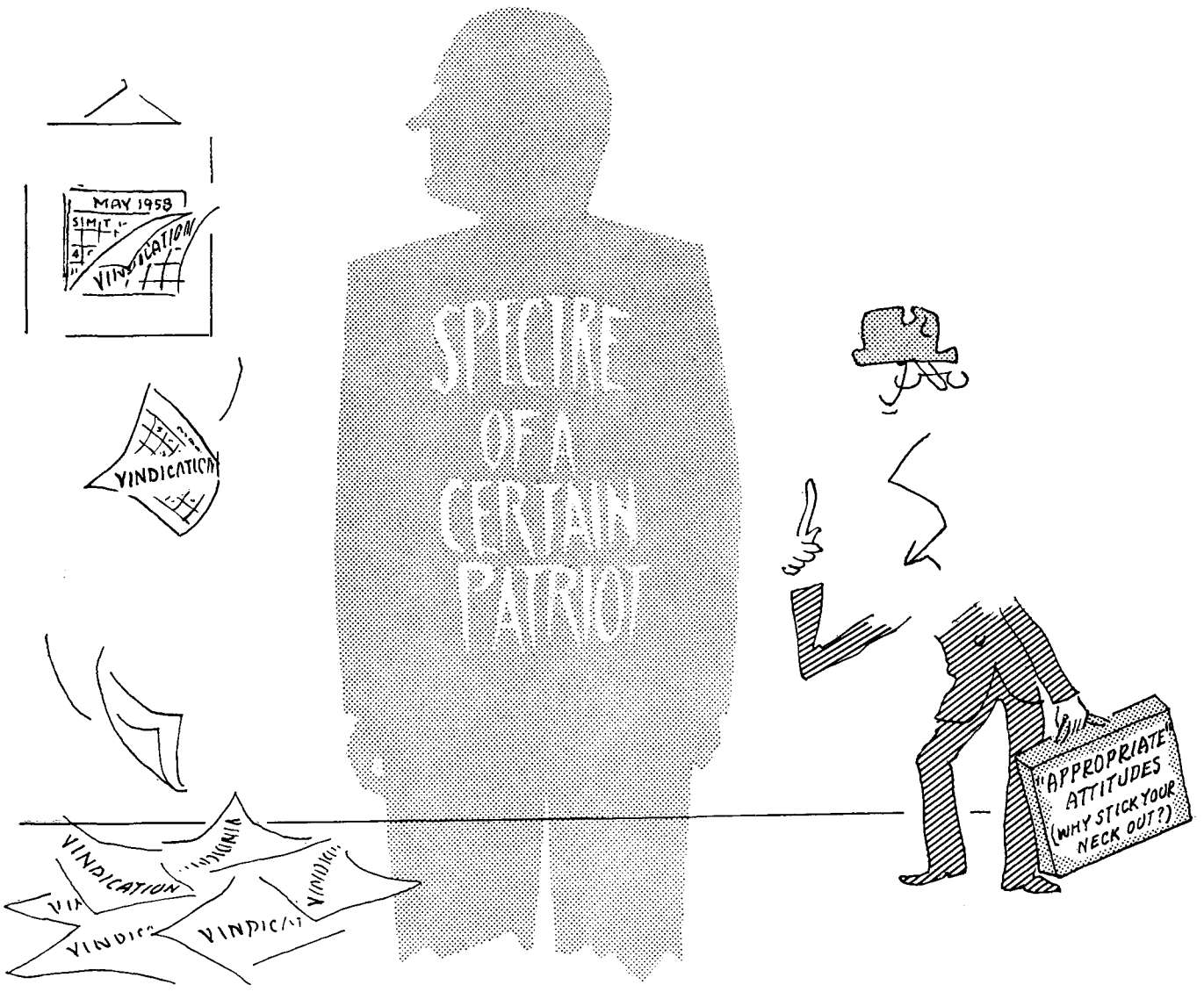
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

De Mortuis Nil Nisi Veritatem

Senator Joe McCarthy died a year ago. In the delirium of coexistence, we are not likely to see any public vindication of his spirited rear-guard action against the advances of subversive Communism. But there is one thing we could reasonably hope for: that his enemies, secure in their position, might some day soon, out of a respect for truth, grudgingly concede that the "menace" of "McCarthyism," which they exploited so shamelessly, was a phony from the start.

It should be obvious to everyone by now that McCarthy had no power, no machine, no lust for dictatorship. He had only the strength of his insight (which was shrewd) and the pertinacity of an uncowed voice. The Reign of Terror which he supposedly unleashed was always mythical. It was more the other way around: the occasional lone university professor, author, or journalist who dared to hold with McCarthy that there was a problem of subversion in the State Department, or that Owen Lattimore had, after all, changed his line on China in tandem with the Communists, is still held up to derision by his colleagues. History does not, by its own processes, affirm the truth and reject error. As things stand, outrageous distortions of the McCarthy record prevail; and where is the will of the truthmongers, who tell us they seek the truth and will endure the consequences, to set the record straight?

Perhaps it is too much to expect that McCarthy's enemies *should* set the record straight. Perhaps it would damage them too grievously, if ever it were widely known what they did.



Kreuttner

"Name one Communist he ever exposed who had a membership card in his vest pocket signed by Stalin!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Phony War

Not since the invasion of Normandy has there been such a display of rhetoric as Mr. Eisenhower has lavished on the Pentagon reorganization plan. Like Ulysses Grant, General Eisenhower is going, we are told, to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer: *"There can be no retreat from the essentials of this legislation."*

The only thing so far lacking is an explanation by somebody of exactly what the dispute is about. There has been a lot of platitudinizing about "coordination," "efficiency," "streamlining," "healthy competition," etc., but to every specific criticism Mr. McElroy and his assistants have invariably replied: no, the plan doesn't actually mean that, and if it does, go ahead and change it—"the Secretary of Defense has not insisted on rigid adherence to words and phraseology."

Certainly the bill is dangerous in that it yields further ground to the advocates of executive supremacy. By getting control of the allocation of the biggest slice of the national budget—namely, the military appropriations—the Executive would cut Congress off from any effective voice in determining the nation's Grand Strategy, which is in our era decisive for policy in domestic as well as foreign affairs.

However, the bill appears to be a step forward in advancing the national security beyond factionalism by the separate services.

Our melancholy prediction is that out of the sound and fury will come an elaborate "compromise" bill which, in the approved bureaucratic manner, will combine the useless, self-canceling and most expensive features of all the proposals by all parties to the controversy. It will of course be hailed as the charter that "enables the country to face the challenge of the Space Age."

Demand and No Supply

The indices by which knowing folk claim to read the economic future continue "mixed." Total employment is up a little since mid-March, which sounds like the start of recovery. The cost of living is up, which sounds as if consumer demand (upon which, we are told, everything depends) were, after all, being sustained. Farm income is up, which, again, is on the bright side; and, *mirabile dictu,* consumer credit was, as recently as the end of March, still pouring not-yet-earned money into the market for goods and services. There are, on the other hand, nearly a million unsold automobiles gathering dust in the nation's showrooms; residential construction continues to lag; even the optimists are now talking late June (not, as before, late April or May) as the "probable" bottom point of the recession; voices of real doom, voices that speak not of a recession but of a 1930's-style depression, are making themselves heard for the first time in many years; and, as we go to press, the stock market seems to be selling off again.

The average policymaker does not know which of the indices is the one to keep an eye on. Still less can he tell you which of the many academic economists who are today saying widely different things—about tax cuts, about public works programs, about interest rate changes and open market operations, about the possible impact of each of these devices upon the gross national product—to listen to. Indeed, a chief lesson of the recession to date is that the nation needs more urgently than ever a corps of professional economists upon whose competence, whose genuine understanding of the economic system, and whose impartiality it can really depend.

The beginning of the remedy can lie only in the economics departments of our colleges and universities, which must (but cannot be forced to) learn to channel into economic scholarship the energies that they now fritter away upon attempts to manipulate policy, and implement ideological designs.

A Good Time Was Had by All

The American Association of University Professors, with 40,000 teacher-members on over 500 college campuses, met last week in Denver, Colorado. The prime order of business, to judge from press reports, was to honor universities that are indifferent to the behavior of faculty members before legislative investigating committees, and to anathematize those that do not countenance Fifth Amendment recalcitrance.

It has been a very good year, one in which the AAUP has found it possible to expunge censure resolutions against several universities, which have now repented their sins. Temple University, for example, was removed from the censure list after Temple agreed to delete from its constitution the clause that places on a teacher who takes the Fifth Amendment before a congressional committee "the burden of proof that he is fit to teach." The burden of proof, of course, should be on the congressional committee, to prove it has any business asking a professor whether he is a member of an organization that intends to overthrow the government of the United States. Rutgers too is now shriven, having promised to delete from *its* constitution a provision that metes out dismissal to any faculty member taking the Fifth. The hero of the event, who received the Association's Academic Freedom Award, was Mr. Eldon L. Johnson, President of the University of New Hampshire. Mr. Johnson's heroism lay in having conspicuously invited Marxist Professor Paul Sweezy to lecture at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his university at a moment when Mr. Sweezy was under a contempt citation by the State of New Hampshire, for refusing to answer questions about his past.

The President of the AAUP, Miss Helen C. White of the University of Wisconsin, addressing the Convention on the import of Sputnik, said: "All the jokes about longhairs and eggheads . . . have suddenly become not so much obsolete, as irrelevant." The jokes about the invincible ignorance of the intellectuals are no longer, post-Sputnik, a joking matter.

It'll Be Cliburn, Boys

We are told by a correspondent in Texas that if someone were to launch a Texan Friends of the Soviet Union Committee at this moment, it would be, in the glow of *l'affaire* Cliburn, swamped with members. Once, again, the Communists have scored a stunning propaganda victory. As usual, they need not have scored it but for our exuberant cooperation, and unfailing innocence.

Mr. Van Cliburn is a 21-year-old Texan, tall, handsome, talented. The Ministry of Culture of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics conducted, a few weeks ago, an international competition of young pianists from all over the world. The artists, who met in Moscow, competed in renditions of Tschaikovsky, Rachmaninoff, and Kabalevsky—and Van Cliburn won. The news was greeted deliriously all over the world. It seemed to mean so much. It meant that Art transcends politics. It meant that the Communists, in their developing mellowness, are even willing to acknowledge the superiority, in an important competition, of a pianist from a decadent capitalist society, and as an interpreter of *Russian* music! Coexistence stock boomed! . . . And now Mr. Cliburn is back in the United States, playing just about every night of the week before rapt audiences, the "same Moscow prize-winning program," to quote his agent.

We hate to say it, but here it is: There can be little doubt that Mr. Cliburn's victory was a Party decision. This is not to disparage in any way his talents. We know he is a promising pianist of the bravura style, and for all we know, he actually *was* the best pianist to enter the competition. But Communism, as has been established time and time again, views art as an instrument of the Revolution: art is neither good nor bad—these are esthetic terms that have no meaning in Communist dialectic; art is useful or not, depending on whether it advances the aims of the Revolution.

To be sure there exists, in Moscow critics, an esthetic critical sense; it is virtually impossible for any regime to suppress so organic a faculty. The judges may have considered Mr. Cliburn the best pianist at the competition: but, knowing the propaganda repercussions of awarding him the prize, would not have dreamed of offering it to him without first appealing, for clearance, to the Keepers of the Revolution. Party-members Prokofieff, Shostakovich, and Khatchaturian were not allowed to compose music uncongenial to the rulers of the Party. Is it likely that a group of music judges would be permitted to rank a capitalist musician number one in a worldwide competition?

The likeliest background story of the award, however, is that before Mr. Cliburn even appeared in Moscow, it was decided, upon careful assessment of the propaganda possibilities involved, that there isn't anybody in the *world* who can handle Tschaikovsky, Rachmaninoff, and Kabalevsky as he can. Dmitri Shostakovich gave the show away in the language he used to congratulate Cliburn, language of the type that is composed not by composers, but by propaganda ministries: "Musical circles in the United States have a right to be proud of the bright success of their young countryman, especially since until now the musical success of that country resulted not from efforts of Americans but of famous performers of European countries. We, for our part, are extremely happy that this outstanding young American artist earned his first wide and entirely deserved recognition among us here in Moscow." *I.e.:* Art doesn't flourish in capitalist America. And when it does, it takes a Communist to recognize it.

Notes and Asides

Mr. Brent Bozell's column will not appear in this issue or in the next two: Mr. Bozell has no time for us, as he is Running for Public Office! The voters of Montgomery County, Maryland, have the opportunity, on May 20 next, to nominate Mr. Bozell to run for State Assemblyman on the Republican ticket. Mr. Bozell is waging a primary fight on three domestic issues. He favors 1) a right-to-work law for Maryland, 2) a return in the public schools to basic education, and 3) the affirmation, by Maryland, of the rights guaranteed it under the Tenth Amendment. Mr. Bozell's address is 6108 Kennedy Drive, Chevy Chase. All voters, campaign volunteers, and contributors to his campaign, welcome. Beware of dog, cat, and six red-headed children.

Our Contributors: HARRY ELMER BARNES ("Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe"), the well-known historian, has been a professor not only of history but also of economics and sociology. He has contributed to various historical books and encyclopedias. Among his better-known books is his two-volume *History of Western Civilization.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe

It has been incontrovertibly proved that Japan offered to surrender six months before the atom bombing which Mr. Truman defends as "necessary"

HARRY ELMER BARNES

The comment in the NATIONAL REVIEW editorial of March 29 on the statement of former President Harry S. Truman, in which he sought to justify the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was timely, cogent and to the point. But something more than his dubious public manners and his lack of sympathetic perspective is at stake in dealing with his statement that: "I think the sacrifice of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was urgent and necessary for the prospective welfare of both Japan and the Allies." The situation calls for some realistic historical analysis.

Well-informed persons have known for years that the bombing of these Japanese cities was not needed to bring the war to a speedy end and make it unnecessary to launch an assault against the Japanese mainland which, if actually carried out, would certainly have led to enormous bloodshed on both sides. It has been difficult, however, to get this momentous fact before the American public in any effective manner, even though the relevant information has been published in prominent American newspapers and periodicals, the most complete revelation having actually been made on the Sunday following V-J Day. What are the facts in the situation?

By January 1945 the Japanese had become convinced that they had lost the war; indeed, so thoroughly convinced that they made overtures for peace so extreme that they were almost identical with those accepted in August after months of bloody fighting in the Pacific and the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There is every probability that the war could have been ended in February or March on the basis of the complete surrender of Japan. What factual data are there to support what will seem to most readers an incredible statement?

Two days before President Roosevelt left for the Yalta Conference, he had received from General Douglas MacArthur valid Japanese peace overtures virtually identical with those which were accepted in August as the basis for the Japanese surrender. They were made up of some five separate proposals, two of which came through American channels and three through British. These Japanese peace "feelers" were not irresponsible, anonymous, "fly-by-night" proposals but "came from responsible Japanese acting for Emperor Hirohito." General MacArthur urged President Roosevelt to start immediate negotiations with the Japanese on the basis of these overtures, and warned against inviting or urging the Russians to enter the war in the Far East.

Roosevelt rejected MacArthur's advice and, figuratively, threw MacArthur's vitally important information and suggestions into the waste basket, with the remark that "MacArthur is our greatest general and our poorest politician." Roosevelt proceeded to Yalta where he granted the concessions to Russia that made the Soviet Union the dominant power in the Far East and played a crucial role in the later victory of the Communists in China. The bloody warfare in the Pacific was allowed to drag on for six more months without any real military necessity.

What Japan Offered

Specifically, the terms of these Japanese peace overtures of late January, 1945, were the following:

1. Full surrender of the Japanese forces on the sea, in the air, at home, on island possessions, and in occupied countries.
2. Surrender of all arms and munitions.
3. Occupation of the Japanese homeland and island possessions by Allied troops under American direction.
4. Japanese relinquishment of Manchuria, Korea and Formosa, as well as all territory seized during the war.
5. Regulation of Japanese industry to halt present and future production of implements of war.
6. Surrender of designated war criminals.
7. Release of all prisoners of war and internees in Japan proper and in areas under Japanese control.

The Government has never made this sensational episode public, so it may fairly be asked how we know the above statement about MacArthur's communication to Roosevelt to be a fact. It so happens that MacArthur's document passed over the desk of a high-ranking military officer in Washington who was greatly disturbed at what he feared might happen at Yalta. He wished to get MacArthur's communication on record so it could not be destroyed by Mr. Roosevelt or his associates or hidden away from the public for many years as "top secret" material. Hence, he called in his friend, Walter Trohan of the *Chicago Tribune*, and suggested that Trohan make an exact copy of the Japanese overtures. But he first bound Trohan to absolute secrecy and confidence until the end of the war. Trohan kept his promise, but on the Sunday after V-J Day (August 19, 1945) Trohan published the material in full in the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Washington Times-Herald*. Despite the very timely and sensational nature of the Trohan article, no prominent newspaper, so far as I know, noticed or republished it either then or at any time since.

The authenticity of the Trohan article was never challenged by the White House or the State Department, and for very good reason. After General MacArthur returned from Korea

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

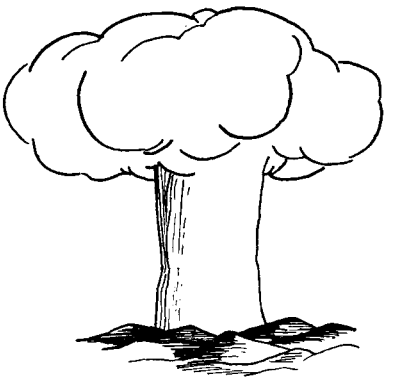
in 1951, his neighbor in the Waldorf Towers, former President Herbert Hoover, took the Trohan article to General MacArthur and the latter confirmed its accuracy in every detail and without qualification.

We have here, then, absolutely accurate and convincing evidence that, before Roosevelt left for Yalta, he knew that the Japanese were ready for peace negotiations based on amazing concessions—so amazing that they were ultimately accepted as the basis for peace with Japan six months later. This completely knocks the bottom out from under Mr. Truman's statement that the bombing was "urgent and necessary" six months after the Japanese were ready to sue for peace and when they were vastly weaker and far more frantic for peace than they were in January and February.

And Stalin Profited

It was quite evident by early February 1945 that there was no need for further bloody fighting in the Pacific, certainly not until the genuineness of the Japanese peace overtures were tested out by actual negotiations—and we now know that they were genuine. Any military delay in the Pacific due to negotiations at this time would, naturally, have worked to the advantage of the United States which was daily gaining in strength and morale while the Japanese power was fading away. But, as we have seen, there was no move for negotiations on the part of Roosevelt. Instead, the needless but extremely lethal battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa, together with other costly engagements, followed on the heels of Roosevelt's contemptuous dismissal of MacArthur's recommendation of negotiations for peace. In the meantime, at Yalta, Russia was invited, even bribed, to enter the war against Japan, with the disastrous results we now know all too well, although Russia took no actual part in hostilities against Japan until August 8, two days after the bombing of Hiroshima. She merely waited until the war was over and picked up the Far Eastern booty and spoils that Roosevelt and Churchill had almost forced on her at Yalta. Stalin would have betrayed the interests of his country if he had not made the most of this opportunity.

But the MacArthur communication to Roosevelt was not the only source of information reaching Washington as to the Japanese desire for peace on the most humiliating terms from January 1945 onward. Admiral Ellis M. Zacharias of the Intelligence Service of the Navy, in his book, *Secret Missions*, and even more sensational articles in *Look* magazine, tells us how the Naval Intelligence learned of the desperate condition of the Japanese and their real desire for peace. There were other "leaks," some of them actually coming through the Russians and Chinese. But all this



information had no more apparent effect on President Roosevelt or Truman than did the MacArthur communication to Roosevelt at the end of January 1945.

The facts about the Japanese situation from January to August 1945, and the official American reaction to them are admirably summarized in Chapter 10 of the scholarly book of Professor Richard N. Current, *Secretary Stimson*. They serve to make it crystal clear that there was not the slightest military need of bombing the Japanese cities to bring the war to a speedy close, even in the spring of 1945, and without any necessity whatever of attacking the Japanese mainland.

In relation to Mr. Truman's recent declaration, the vital question is whether Mr. Truman knew all of the above facts by, or around, the time he took over the office of President. He obviously implies in his recent pronouncement that he did not. But I have the personal testimony of an American public figure of the greatest eminence and with perhaps the best reputation for unquestionable probity of any leading American statesman since George Washington himself, to the effect that Mr. Truman knew all about the situation by early May, 1945, and admitted that further fighting, to say nothing of atomic bombing, was quite unnecessary to win the war and bring an early peace.

This distinguished public figure told me personally, in the presence of a prominent witness, that, having learned the above facts and being shocked by the continuance of needless bloodshed in the Pacific, he went to have a talk with President Truman. The latter assured him that he was well acquainted with the facts about the Japanese desire for peace, the lack of any need for further military activity, and the good prospect for an immediate negotiated peace. But he went on to say that he was new on the job and did not feel equal to the formidable task of interfering personally to check the persistent bellicosity of Stimson and the Pentagon hierarchy, who were determined to carry on to the bitter end—as we now know until they were ready to try out their new military "toy," the atom bomb. The bomb was the "pet" project of Stimson, who had been given general authority over its development. Truman did nothing to arrange an armistice and negotiate, but, finally, months later when Japan had virtually collapsed, approved the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Bombing Did Not End War

The remaining important question is whether it was the bombing that actually brought the Pacific war to a close and compelled the Japanese to surrender, as Mr. Truman implies. A large volume of expert testimony, much of it official, has been accumulated since the end of the war and it proves Mr. Truman and other defenders of the bombing to have been completely wrong on this vital point. The United States Strategic Bombing Survey stated, even as early as 1946, that: "The Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs did not defeat Japan, nor by the testimony of the enemy leaders who ended the war did they persuade Japan to accept unconditional surrender." The reason for the surrender of Japan was the collapse of her military power and the full recognition that further resistance would be futile. As the Bombing Survey summarizes the matter: "Japan would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."

Perhaps the most striking fact established by research since the end of the war is that the main purpose in using the atomic bombs on Japan was not military at all, but diplomatic, and that the real target was not Japan but Russia. This was suggested by Norman Cousins and Thomas K. Finletter in an article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, June 15, 1946, and was more explicitly confirmed by the British atomic physicist, P. M. S. Blackett. The eminent American publicist and industrialist, the late Robert R. Young, also directly charged that this was the case in his trenchant article in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, March 8, 1947, but many regarded this allegation as fantastic. Yet it has been supported by subsequent events and revelations, some of them official. As Professor Current points out, even Stimson's Memoirs hinted that: "Russia and not Japan was the real target of the atom bomb." The bomb, so state the Memoirs, would "give democratic diplomacy a badly needed 'equalizer' as against the postwar power of the Communist colossus." Historical study since the Memoirs appeared has confirmed this interpretation. Stalin took this view, and many date the origins of the Cold War from the time he received news of the bombing shortly after the Potsdam Conference.

If this interpretation of the underlying reason for the bombing is correct, then the tens of thousands of Japanese who were roasted at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were sacrificed not to end the war or save American and Japanese lives but to strengthen American diplomacy *vis-à-vis* Russia. Not only the "humanity" of this procedure but even its political sagacity is open to question. As Professor Current wryly observes:

> If the purpose really was to check the Russians in the Far East, the destruction of their historic enemy in that area must seem, in retrospect, like a peculiar way to go about it. A quick peace with Japan, short of complete humiliation, might have been a more sensible expedient.

Mr. Truman may seek to cite in refutation of my presentation the statements made by Army and Navy experts at Yalta, such as General Marshall, to the effect that Japan could only be brought to her knees by a frontal assault on the Japanese mainland, and that to achieve this victory Russia had to be brought into the war. But we now know that these statements do not prove Mr. Truman right; they only prove how wrong Marshall and the others were at the time of Yalta. Moreover, Roosevelt, having read the MacArthur communication before he left for Yalta, knew that they were mistaken. The assertion by Stimson and American military leaders in the summer of 1945 that Japan could be brought to surrender only by an actual invasion or by the use of the atom bomb could readily have been tested by Mr. Truman by starting honest negotiations with Japan based on the MacArthur communication of late January, 1945, and the subsequent Japanese overtures with which Mr. Truman was acquainted. The Potsdam peace offer in July 1945 was not a fair test.

Mr. Truman seeks, finally, to defend his action by the statement that:

> The need for such a fateful decision [the atomic bombing], of course, would never have arisen had we not been shot in the back by Japan at Pearl Harbor in December 1941.

Mr. Truman has made no little pretension to an interest in history and some regard for historical facts. We might suggest that there is a vast body of historical materials on Pearl Harbor which apparently still await his careful scrutiny. They reveal, at the very least, that President Roosevelt kicked Japan in the shins, handcuffed the United States, bared its back, and dared the Japanese to shoot.

Even if one were to take the most hostile attitude toward Japan and her Pearl Harbor attack—even President Roosevelt's "Day of Infamy" rhetoric—the answer of the Hiroshima City Council to Mr. Truman's blast is utterly devastating:

> Had your decision been based on the Imperial Japanese Navy's surprise attack on your country's combatants and military facilities [at Pearl Harbor], why could you not choose a military base for the target? You committed the outrage of massacring 200,000 noncombatants as revenge, and you are still trying to justify it.

(Reprints of this article are available at 15 cents each, 100 for $10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.)*

"Summit Time, and the Giving Is Easy"

(*Music by Gershwin*)

The Liberal Rock-and-Rollers want a Summit,
They play it classic style or jazz or bop:
The *Nation* likes to drum it,
And Nehru loves to strum it,
And Lippmann's learned to hum it
(Which means we're not far from it)—
So get ready for that meeting at the top.

Oh, it's time to go a-trading at the Summit:
They'll promise, and we'll give—an even swap.
So let's swipe the fare or bum it—
Let us fly or walk or thumb it—
For there's nothing like the Summit
As a place from which to plummet—

go, the
you more
up you
higher d
the r
For o
p!

ALLAN HOUSE RYSKIND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

See What Happens When You

NATIONAL REVIEW

211 East 37th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

the weekly magazine of conservative opinion

April 28, 1958

Editor-in-Chief:
WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

Publisher:
WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Editors:
L. BRENT BOZELL
JAMES BURNHAM
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
WHITTAKER CHAMBERS
WILLMOORE KENDALL
SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE
FRANK S. MEYER

Assistant to the Publisher:
J. P. McFADDEN

AN OPEN LETTER

To Those of Our Readers Who Hold Executive Positions:

Like most magazines, NATIONAL REVIEW depends on advertising. People sometimes think that subscription revenues meet at least the basic cost of putting out a magazine. Actually, they barely cover production and mailing costs. Other expenses--editorial content, circulation promotion and overhead--must come from advertising...or else.

NATIONAL REVIEW services a sturdy band of distinguished advertisers--but not enough of them. Why so few? Because, in many cases, executives haven't stopped to consider what an ad in NATIONAL REVIEW really means.

In the first place, it offers businessmen a superb opportunity to reach the 50,000 loyal readers who wait eagerly for every issue of NATIONAL REVIEW. On the opposite page is a recent letter from Robert LeFevre, President of the Freedom School, which testifies more eloquently than I can to the actual pulling power of an ad in NATIONAL REVIEW.

In the second place, however, every executive knows certain grim facts:

1. Confiscatory taxes absorb more than half a company's profits.
2. Government not only interferes with business at every turn, but often actually competes with it.
3. In the prevailing political atmosphere, business is always the whipping boy.

And yet, ironically, many of the leading leftist newspapers and magazines are being financed by the advertising of companies whose independence will end if those periodicals have their editorial way!

Crazy? I agree, and urge you, therefore, to put NATIONAL REVIEW high on your advertising schedule.* In Washington and on Wall Street, among key educators, business and professional men, NATIONAL REVIEW is read... discussed...respected. It deserves--and needs--your advertising.

May I hear from you on this vital matter? If you prefer to telephone, please call me; I shall be happy to talk with you.

Cordially yours,

William A. Rusher

William A. Rusher
Publisher

*Sample rates:
$9100 for 13 full-page ads
$180 for one half-page ad.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Advertise in National Review?

The Freedom School, Inc.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
BOX 165
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO

Board of Directors
RUTH DAZEY
WILLIAM J. FROH
LOIS LeFEVRE
ROBERT LeFEVRE
MARJORIE LLEWELLIN
ROBERT B. RAPP
EDITH SHANK

National Board of Fellows
MR. JOHN W. BECK
Hemet, California
MR. ALDRICH BLAKE
Laguna Beach, California
A. G. BLAZEY, M.D.
Washington, Indiana
MRS. MARY D. CAIN
Summit, Mississippi
MISS TAYLOR CALDWELL
Eggertsville, New York
MR. ZACK R. CECIL
Latrobe, Pennsylvania
MR. FRANK CHODOROV
Berkeley Heights, New Jersey
MR. RALPH COURTNEY
Spring Valley, New York
MR. RALPH E. DAVIS
Los Angeles, California
JAMES L. DOENGES, M.D.
Anderson, Indiana
MR. ROBERT B. DRESSER
Providence, Rhode Island
MR. HARRY T. EVERINGHAM
Chicago, Illinois
BRIG. GEN. BONNER FELLERS (ret.)
Washington, D.C.
MR. W. L. FOSTER
Tulsa, Oklahoma
MR. J. H. GIPSON, SR.
Caldwell, Idaho
MISS CORINNE GRIFFITH
Beverly Hills, California
MR. EARL HARDING
New York, New York
MR. MERWIN K. HART
New York, New York
MR. HARRY H. HOILES
Colorado Springs, Colorado
MR. S. C. IDE, SR.
Portland, Indiana
MR. RICHARD LLOYD JONES
Tulsa, Oklahoma
MR. JOHN BROSS LLOYD
Greenwich, Connecticut
MR. MILTON M. LORY
Sioux City, Iowa
MR. THURMAN L. McCORMICK
Kansas City, Missouri
MR. CHARLES A. MACAULEY
Detroit, Michigan
MR. ROGER MILLIKEN
New York, New York
MR. R. E. NELLIS
Kraemer, Pennsylvania
MR. ED OBELE
Colorado Springs, Colorado
MR. GEORGE PECK
Largo, Florida
MR. R. ROY PURSELL
Plymouth, Michigan
DR. E. MERRILL ROOT
Richmond, Indiana
ADM. WM. H. STANDLEY (ret.)
Coronado, California
MR. WILLIS E. STONE
Los Angeles, California
DR. V. ORVAL WATTS
Altadena, California
MR. E. L. WIEGAND
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
MR. GLENN O. YOUNG
Sapulpa, Oklahoma

April 7, 1958

Mr. William A. Rusher
Publisher, National Review
211 East 37th Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Rusher:

When we organized the Freedom School, we established a small publicity budget and spent it on a number of publications in the area of conservative opinion. Among those publications was NATIONAL REVIEW. Our budget was too small actually to provide us with anything like a scientific survey of the pulling power of any of the publications we used. However, I am happy to tell you that whereas we employed a total of six conservative journals to tell the Freedom School story in its first year of operation the results we obtained from NATIONAL REVIEW directly traceable to this magazine were better than results directly traceable to all five other media combined.

Consequently, this year, 1958, when the time arrived to spend what money we had for telling the Freedom School story, we selected NATIONAL REVIEW as the exclusive publication to carry our message. Be assured that this choice has been justified by the results we have obtained this year which surpassed our expectations and were of greater value than they were in the preceding year.

For our particular purposes we find NATIONAL REVIEW the best advertising buy. This is not intended in any way to disparage the five conservative publications. It is simply that we have discovered thru two years of employing this medium that it does the job for us and it does it remarkably well.

Sincerely,

Robert LeFevre

Robert LeFevre
President

RL/d

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Trends

Senator Johnson Obliges Labor

PETER MINOT

Our regular Washington columnist, Mr. L. Brent Bozell, is taking a short leave of absence, during which time Mr. Minot has agreed to act as his substitute.

The defeat of the Knowland amendments to a Labor-supported bill regulating union welfare funds, is a clear-cut demonstration that the AFL-CIO has dictatorial powers over the Senate of the United States. If Republican strategists, usually maladroit in their public relations, do not fumble the ball completely, the victory may turn out to be Pyrrhic. For Americans do not like to see raw power so openly subverting the legislative process.

Mr. Lyndon Johnson, the Senate majority leader, is astute enough to recognize this. He has therefore called in his well-rehearsed reportorial claque to give them the line. These reporters, who refer to Senator Johnson as "our peerless leader"—and only half in jest—are now "explaining" that he brought Labor's leadership to heel—an explanation which gives no reason for toughness over a bill which Big Labor wanted.

The fact is that Labor cracked the whip and the Democratic leadership did as it was bidden. For weeks now, Labor lobbyists have virtually picketed Capitol corridors, buttonholing senators and murmuring of dire things to come in the November elections. As a show of strength, they have selected as whipping boy Senator John Kennedy, already a pliant instrument, because he was not quite so servile as Senator Pat McNamara (a carbon copy of the Jumping Joe "I'll - carry - Formosa - too" Ferguson who tried to defeat Bob Taft). To Mr. Al J. Hayes, head of the Machinists' Union and chairman of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, Senator Kennedy was a "self-styled friend of labor" and a "Perón."

The Democratic leadership took the hint. Mr. Johnson, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Hayes met in the Majority Leader's office to make the deal. In return for a cessation of Labor attacks on the Democrats, Mr. Johnson and friends would agree, stipulate, and undertake to block all amendments to the welfare-fund measure. Mr. Kennedy, who tends to forget his women's club manner and to become more than slightly waspish when crossed, promised faithfully to behave in the future.

Journalistic Overtones

At this point, the journalistic aides of the Democratic-Labor alliance moved in. Mr. Knowland's amendments were described in terms vague enough to allow for sinister overtones. Understandably, the American public might have become somewhat mystified, if not irritated, at the seething Labor opposition to a provision in law which would have ensured the election of union officials by secret ballot. Or — to note another Knowland amendment—to a provision which would have allowed for NLRB-supervised referenda on union policies if 15 per cent of the membership petitioned for them.

And so, at the behest of the AFL-CIO, Mr. Johnson of Texas kept every Democrat in line—with the exception of Senator Lausche—on the Knowland amendments. Aided and abetted by a handful of Republicans from strong Labor states, he had the votes to keep the Kennedy Bill pristine. There was one exception: He allowed Senator Mundt to add a clause making it a punishable offense for welfare funds to be administered by persons who on conviction of felony had lost their citizenship. Even in this magnanimous gesture, he played to the galleries, getting a titter by commending Mr. Mundt for his fearless stand against crime.

It will be difficult for the GOP to penetrate the paper curtain erected by the Washington press corps to protect its friends. Yet the job can be done. There are still many areas in American life where the arrogant maneuver will be badly taken. The NLRB demonstrated last week that one of those areas may be among the rank-and-file members of the labor movement. On April 27, it released figures—which the see-no-evil, hear-no-evil, speak-no-evil commentators found of little interest—revealing that of the 959 charges of unfair labor practices brought *against unions* during the first quarter of 1958, 596 were filed by *individual union members.* In most unions, this would take no little courage, yet over the past years the percentage of unfair practice charges leveled at unions by their own members has steadily increased.

Footnote on Suppression

There is a footnote on Mr. Johnson of Texas and his ability to suppress uncomplimentary news. It will be recalled that Speaker Sam Rayburn's private Gestapo, the House Committee on Legislative Oversight, made some petulant outcries against the members of the Federal Communications Commission—charging them with conflict of interest and with being unduly influenced by the radio-television industry. At the time, a few enterprising reporters began checking the records of the FCC. They discovered that Mr. Johnson—through his wife, board chairman and majority stockholder of L.B.J. Co.—owned 450 of 1,500 shares of voting stock of KWTX-AM-TV Waco and 300 of 600 shares of voting stock of KRGV-TV Weslaco. They also discovered that Senator Warren Magnuson, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee which has direct jurisdiction over the FCC, owns 10,186 shares of voting stock of KIRO-AM-FM Seattle.

That the two men most able to control legislation in this field were financially involved did not, however, seem of any significance to the watchdogs of the press. The story remained buried until Sol Taishoff, editor of *Broadcasting,* gave it prominent attention. Then there was a brief flurry, and that was all.

This may be something for Representative John Moss, as he scolds and rails for the abrogation of all security regulations, to take before his Freedom of Information Subcommittee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Tenacious Tenants and Shivering Landlords

Except in times of extreme national emergency, the subject on which the elector feels most strongly and emotionally is the roof over his head. The Rent Act is therefore political dynamite. It conjures up old images of wicked landlords and poor tenants thrown out into the snow.

The wrongs which the Rent Act seeks to put right are now so deep-rooted that the process is bound to be very painful. Not all parts of the country are equally affected. In some urban constituencies, especially in London, this is the hottest political issue: a meeting which the Minister of Housing tried to address in Holborn recently turned into a free-for-all fight with chairs. Some rural constituencies, on the other hand, are hardly touched.

What is it all about? Rent control began as a piece of emergency legislation in the First World War. There was a housing shortage in 1915 which the Government sought to alleviate by controlling rents and preventing the landlord from ejecting his tenant except by an order of the court. After the war, with an election coming, Lloyd George thought it imprudent to repeal this legislation. As time passed, repeal became steadily more difficult. A whole series of Rent Restriction Acts was passed. The Second World War clamped them down tighter: the postwar housing shortage accentuated their effect: inflation made them still more unrealistic. When the Ministry of Labor's cost-of-living index was first compiled in 1904, it was estimated that 30 per cent of a working-class family's total expenditure was accounted for by rent. When the Rent Act was first debated just over a year ago, more than a million houses were being let at rents of five shillings a week or less, though the average wage in Britain is now about eleven pounds a week.

The beneficiaries of rent restriction have adjusted their budgets and their thinking to this new pattern, and are apt to consider it their immutable right. But there are others less fortunate. The most obvious sufferers are the landlords, many of them poorer than the tenants they have to subsidize. Some of them, in addition to paying rates and property taxes, are still making mortgage repayments much higher than the rents they receive. Others are forced to live in expensive apartments because they can't recover their own property. An alarming number of rented houses have been allowed to become uninhabitable because their owners could not afford the cost of repairs.

The Rent Act

Rent control applies only to unfurnished accommodation below a certain rateable value. Tenants of controlled dwellings have been reluctant to move; owners of uncontrolled dwellings have been reluctant to offer unfurnished accommodation. The rents of uncontrolled and furnished dwellings have soared steadily higher.

The distortion was so evident that both political Parties admitted something had to be done. The Socialists produced a wild plan for the "municipalization" of all rented property. The Conservatives produced the Rent Act.

This Act frees from restriction some 800,000 of the more expensive controlled dwellings. It was accompanied by a vague promise that there would be subsequent acts decontrolling the rest. One concession was forced immediately. The period of grace before there could be any evictions was extended from six to fifteen months; it ends next October.

A lot of new agreements between landlords and tenants have now been made. The average increase in rents has been around two or two and a half times. Some people can't or won't pay, and have moved. Others have refused to move or can't find new accommodation: they are liable to be evicted in October. Some landlords are evicting their tenants anyway because they want to liquidate their unprofitable investment while they have the chance; a desire rendered more urgent by the Labor Party's threat to repeal the Rent Act.

In all this the landlords still get no sympathy. The newspapers, the Labor Party and even the Minister of Housing sternly warn them that "There must be no evictions in October." The Socialist-controlled London County Council, predicting terrible sufferings ahead, proposes to solve the problem in characteristic fashion by demanding new powers of requisition. The Government has now given way again to the extent of providing that a decontrolled tenant can apply to the courts for a stay of eviction on three conditions: 1) that he has done his best to reach a new agreement with his landlord and failed; 2) that he has made every reasonable effort to obtain other accommodation and failed; 3) that immediate eviction would mean greater hardship to him than a limited postponement of vacant possession would mean to the landlord.

The Property Owners' Association is furious at what it takes to be another surrender to Socialist clamor. The whole point of the Rent Act is that there should be some evictions in October. But the middle-class tenants have a case too. For many of them, the Rent Act takes away the last hedge against inflation; and because the Rent Act deals only with the more expensive controlled property, they can claim that the Government is once more sacrificing its own supporters. The upper classes own property or live in uncontrolled accommodation: the lower classes live in state-subsidized houses or in accommodation which will still be controlled: the middle classes as usual are ground between the upper and the nether millstones.

The Rent Act is more often defended on grounds of communal expediency than of principle. Even in the Conservative Party, which is supposed to stand for "a property-owning democracy," nobody seems really to believe in the principle of ownership. This modern contempt for property is surely not unconnected with the general and still increasing disregard for personal liberty in every form.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Horns of the French Dilemma

France seems to be once more in the center of the news. There is much debate in Europe not only about French prospects in Algeria and French (and all-European) hopes concerning the Sahara, but also about France's internal politics and economy. While one is used to startling headlines on the French political scene, economic news appears only in articles and essays. France's economy is more Near Eastern than European because it is a weird mixture of the old and the ultra-modern. The German *Bundeswehr* frequently purchases high quality armament material—especially planes and tanks—in France; a transaction by which France gets hard currency. (Germany is France's first customer and its second purveyor.) French engineering has always been brilliant and France still has a great deal of excellent craftsmanship. On the other hand, we find strong resistance to assembly line methods; and this, needless to say, comes from the workers rather than the entrepreneurs.

The structure of France's production has recently prompted waves of discussion throughout Europe. Aside from mammoth firms engaged in mass production (among them nationalized plants such as the Renault works), the average French enterprise, as Professor Chardonnet informs us, employs only 10.6 workers. The United States, since 1929, has tripled the number of its factories employing more than 1,000 workers whereas in France, where production soon may double the 1937 output, such factories have *decreased* 21 per cent. This phenomenon is explained by the French tax structure, which penalizes big business and favors small industries and shopkeepers. Let's look at a few more data: leather manufacture is the business of more than 3000 firms; the textile industry, excluding mass-tailoring, is above the 10,000 mark. There are more than 5,800 flour mills —93 per cent of which employ fewer than 10 workers. With a population of only 45 million, France supports *one million* small stores and *petites boutiques*. This ought to give us a hint as to the fiscal policy of a government which must serve the nation without antagonizing large numbers of voters. As a result there are infinitely more shopkeepers and small entrepreneurs (many of them "moderate leftists") than fat, wealthy capitalists. While the government obviously can soak the big, rich corporations it has to treat the small businessman very gingerly. This curious fiscal policy, superimposed on France's native individualism, has resulted in one of the most outmoded industrial and commercial structures in Western Europe.

Loss of North Africa

Those dynamic, modern-minded industrialists and bankers who, after 1945, invested vast sums in North Africa are bitterly disappointed. The loss of Morocco and Tunisia, protectorates whose future ties with France are most uncertain, may be followed by the loss of Algeria. A number of Frenchmen are resigned to the surrender of this French province to the FNL—a curious amalgam of cut-throats and intellectuals who undoubtedly represent only a minority—not necessarily because they believe that their government's stand is "undemocratic" or "colonialist," but rather because they have become convinced that it is faced by a detemined, power-hungry minority which cannot be appeased. These defeatists, comprising "realists" as well as "idealists," either do not wish France to maintain a costly position, or are persuaded that a fanatic, well-equipped band can force the hand even of a large nation. (Who would dare to maintain that Ho-Chi-Minh's men, who triumphed at Dien-Bien-Phu, represented the majority of Vietnamese?)

The debate for and against the evacuation (read: desertion) of Algeria is particularly acrimonious in French (and North African) Catholic circles, which as usual are thoroughly divided. The situation, roughly, is:

The leading Catholic intellectuals, including a majority of bishops, are on the left and the rank and file are "right of center." (Of course, there is a "rightist" minority among the intellectuals—men like Gabriel Marcel and Gustave Thibon—but their activity does not lie primarily in the field of politics). A mass periodical like *La France Catholique* is right rather than left, but *Témoignage Chrétien* (or *Esprit*) is very left indeed. Its sale at church doors has been protested for political reasons and has even caused sensational scuffles and fights after Mass. Needless to say, the Catholic Left thinks it wiser for the Church not to cling to so-called "untenable positions," but to come to terms with Algeria's would-be masters of tomorrow. They point out that the Church in Morocco and Tunisia, which traditionally has sided with the "natives," has benefited by its stand. The blow suffered by France in those two regions was not a defeat for the Church. The bishops of Algeria are staunch "nativists," and are opposed by the Socialists in the Administration. Socialists cannot speak of surrender: the voters in metropolitan France would not accept such a stand.

Collaboration with Spain

Behind Algeria lies the Sahara, which attracts the interest of all Europe. One can see signs of a rapprochement between Paris and Madrid on account of this question. A minority in France holds that the loss of Algeria would not automatically entail the loss of the Sahara; that the Moslems can neither exploit nor settle it permanently (the Italians did infinitely better in the Libyan desert than the Bedouins); that the "grain" of the Sahara goes east-west rather than north-south. This minority argues that the African northwest coast, which is partly in Spanish and partly in French hands, could be transformed into an outlet for the Sahara and for its mineral products. The French moral support received by Spain in the Ifni and Rio de Oro issue points to more French-Spanish collaboration in Africa (and perhaps elsewhere) in the future.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thirties Period Piece

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Ralph de Toledano once called Edmund Wilson a literary string-saver. But the "string" in Mr. Wilson's *The American Earthquake: A Documentary of the Jazz Age, the Great Depression, and the New Deal* (Doubleday, $6.00) is stout stuff, and as Mr. Wilson shifts it from cupboard to cupboard, taking it from his older books and from the crumbling files of the *New Republic, Scribner's,* the old *Common Sense* of Alfred Bingham, and V. F. Calverton's *Modern Monthly,* it seems distinctly worth the saving. Sometimes Mr. Wilson succeeds in untying the knots and snarls created by the passage of time; sometimes he doesn't. But the string doesn't fray and ravel, and practically all of it bears using a second time over.

It is not that Mr. Wilson is to be trusted as a thinker about fundamentals, even when he appends footnotes to his admittedly fallacious older ideas about Marx. He seems incapable of wrestling with the basic problems of political, economic and social power, and if he has ever read any political philosophers or economists other than the Marxists and the "progressives" of his own Charles Beard-J. Allen Smith-Herbert Croly era, he does not show it in his writing. He is interested in philosophical systems, and he can build thrilling narratives around their genesis and amplification in successive generations of men. But his interest in philosophy is a *novelist's* interest; what entrances him about ideas is their ability to provoke and condition dramatic human behavior. The question of the *validity* of a philosophical principle is something which Wilson gladly leaves to others.

A great deal that Mr. Wilson once said about the "American jitters" of the thirties is nonsense, as he himself is aware. But if Wilson's conclusions about the phenomena which he observed and reported for the *New Republic* some twenty-five years ago are, to adapt his own rueful words, "shallow or nagging," his reportorial substance remains remarkably solid and clear. His sense of *ambiance* is almost magical in its evocative powers. I am sure that Wilson traduces the mill owners of Lawrence, Mass., in his report of a textile strike. But Wilson went and looked at Lawrence in the drizzle of a sad October dawn; he walked about the ancient multi-story factory buildings and listened to the booing of the pickets; he took notes on the difference between the forensic habits of the AFL organizers, the independents and the Communists; he described the worried Portuguese girls and the plump French Canadian women with their "civilized black eyes"; he followed a Socialist organizer and a Brookwood Labor College graduate around—and the scene, built up out of a myriad accurate details, comes alive like something out of a good social novel.

The same is true when Mr. Wilson goes to Washington to watch William Z. Foster and Israel Amter, the Communists, joust with Congressman Hamilton Fish. Although Wilson practically slanders Ham Fish, who had a dogged honesty and the basic good sense to oppose Communism from the start, he is adroit at catching certain unmistakable Fish mannerisms; and when Israel Amter replies to a question in a humorous way, Wilson accurately notes the suddenly relaxing nature of the quip.

So it goes in all of Wilson's reportorial pieces. Visiting Detroit at the outset of the Great Depression, Mr. Wilson was willing to credit a score of tales about the speed-up in the Ford plant. The tales may have reflected animus, or they may not; but in any event it is incontestable that this is the way they talked in Detroit at the time. There is absolutely nothing wrong with Mr. Wilson's ear as he catches the rumbles of discontent that gave John L. Lewis and Walter Reuther and Dick Frankensteen their opportunity to organize the auto workers.

ATMOSPHERIC reporting, however, is one thing and good thinking about the reporting is another. In all of Mr. Wilson's pieces—whether they are of the nineteen twenties or the Depression or New Deal Washington—the emotional response is superior to the quality of intellectual discernment. Mr. Wilson watches the "crushing" of Washington Square as big apartment buildings go up on lower Fifth Avenue, and he feels bad about the disappearance of the old provincial New York, with its low roofs and its air of chaste elegance.

He feels just as bad about the plight of the West Virginia coal diggers of the early thirties as they try to make do on company "scrip" which is only good at the company store. But the appeal in either case is to sentiment. There is no attempt to think through the problem of housing people in an expanding metropolis or to come to grips with the economics of a dying coal industry.

Mr. Wilson did not visit Soviet Russia until 1935, a year after the last of the sketches of *The American Earthquake* was written. As he went about the United States in the early Depression years he "eagerly drew Marxist morals from the phenomena I went out to explore." Later, partly as a result of his travels in Russia, partly as a reaction to the Moscow purges and the subsequent expansion of Stalin's bureaucratic State, Mr. Wilson turned against his earlier trust in any and all Marxists. He is willing, in 1957, to admit to being "be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mused by a certain utopianism, against which—in spite of the ridicule that Marx and Engels had poured on their utopian predecessors—we had not been put on our guard by these two 'scientific' socialists because Marx's own Hebraic vision of the future of human society was utopian to the point of apocalypse."

Even though he is willing to repudiate the "utopian" Wilson of 1930-35, the Edmund Wilson of 1957 is unable to take the struggle of principle that underlies the Cold War seriously. He has what he calls "a foolish nostalgia" for the thirties, "those desperate days when nothing worked." The nostalgia is understandable in a period when intellectuals are chiefly notable for a resolute refusal to live up to the obligation of exercising simple intelligence. But it does not occur to Mr. Wilson that "nothing worked" in the "desperate" thirties for a very good reason: men in power at that time were trying to cure a depression by Statist means which were wholly inappropriate to the task.

Mr. Wilson sees the "bureaucratic" degeneration of Stalinist Russia clearly, but, unlike Max Eastman for example, he has not traced that degeneration to its roots in the idea that the State should own the means of production and take the leading part in organizing industry. He sees the futility of much of the New Deal and speaks of the "porousness" of Roosevelt's character, but he never comes to grips with the Keynesian fallacies which Mr. Roosevelt accepted as gospel. He has a horror of the "great machines" of government which seem to be taking over "everywhere," but he shows no evidence of having pondered on the relationship between the socialism which he still espouses in principle and the State worship which he dislikes in practice.

Mr. Wilson, one gathers, isn't particularly interested in contemporary problems at the moment, and, since anyone who has reached the age of sixty has a right to ration his time and energy, I would not deflect him from his immersion in nineteenth-century literary movements. But he has, after all, seen fit to republish the material that has gone into *The American Earthquake,* and if his 1957 footnote material often seems grossly inadequate to the task of bringing the 1930-35 period into critical focus *it is the duty of the reviewer to say so.* Mr. Wilson's past has been both significant and interesting, and it is therefore worth reviving. But it is worth more extended thought on Mr. Wilson's own part if it is to have a meaning for the future.

To order any book reviewed in this issue, write:

THE BOOKMAILER
Box 101, Murray Hill Station
New York 16, N.Y.

Return mail service—postpaid
PAY ONLY BOOKSTORE PRICE

$.....payment enclosed

Please send me: ..... (name of book)

.....

.....

Name .....

Address .....

.....

(No C.O.D. orders accepted; payment MUST accompany order. N.Y. City residents add 3% tax.)

The Seabee Speaks of Freedom

FRANK CHODOROV

STATISM emerges from a state of mind. When a people seek escape from the demands of self-reliance and release from the standards of self-respect, they will of their own accord submit to a condition of servitude. Indeed, they will vote themselves into the yoke of Communism. And if they are completely possessed by the myth of heaven-on-earth-through-political-action, they will equate Communism, or any other form of statism, with freedom. For the dichotomy "liberty or death" will have ceased to have meaning.

This, in brief, is the motif of nine speeches made by Ben Moreell, currently chairman of the board of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, better known as the Admiral who organized the fabulous Seabees of World War II. The collection, under the title of *The Admiral's Log,* is published, significantly, by the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, Lafayette Building, Philadelphia, Pa. (Cloth, $2.00; paper, $1.00). I say it is significant that this organization should have sponsored the publication because, despite the fact that the Admiral addressed himself to industrialists, the collected speeches turn out to be a textbook on freedom; the students who read it will have spelled out for them the underlying principles of freedom—in economics, in politics and particularly in ethics.

The Admiral does not mince words. With the directness of a man trained to see things as they are, he points out how deeply the myth of statism has penetrated the American mind, and how much power has been transferred from the people to the government as a consequence. In one of the speeches ("To Communism via Majority Vote") he lists the ten measures which Karl Marx, in the *Communist Manifesto,* declared to be necessary to prepare the way for Communism, and then shows in detail how our laws and political practices have paralleled these proposals. He lashes out at the inequity of income and inheritance taxes, at the immorality of government intervention in agriculture and industry, at government control of credit, at government loans of citizens' money, at conscription, at the growth of bureaucracy. Nor does he spare such "sacred cows" of our mythology as government-controlled schools and the monopoly post office. A principle is a principle, and if reasoning from it leads to unpleasant or unaccustomed conclusions he does not hesitate to make them. The book is in these times a rare piece of intellectual honesty, and for that reason alone makes refreshing reading.

Admiral Moreell is a religious man. But his religion is not tortured with niceties or watered down with platitudes. He believes in God, period. God to him is an intelligence concerned with the whole gamut of human affairs; the individual—scientist, intellectual or politician—who presumes to order the world according to a conceit of his own, without reference to God's law, is both a fool

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and a knave. There is an order of things beyond the reach of any political establishment, an order of things to which the human being must conform or suffer the consequences; it is the business of man to ascertain by observation and reason the immutable laws that prevail in this order and to manage his life accordingly. The world is in confusion just because man has tried to manage affairs according to his whims rather than according to God's laws. Incidentally, Moreell is convinced that economics is no more free of natural law than is chemistry or physics.

As one reads this stimulating book one is bothered by a query: what manner of businessman is this who speaks of spiritual values with conviction, who makes no concession to expedience? All this does not fit the popular stereotype of a practical man of affairs, whose principal characteristic is a willingness to compromise principle for the sake of convenience or an immediate profit. Is he a maverick or is he a symbol of a new mood among businessmen? Eight of these nine speeches were delivered at gatherings of industrial leaders—the ninth before a religious group—and one can hope that their willingness to listen to this kind of talk is proof of understanding; perhaps the cloud of collectivism that is descending on the country has come to the attention of the business fraternity and they are at least thinking about the danger to them and their offspring. The country would be in better shape if every member of this fraternity were to read and absorb *The Admiral's Log.*

The Passing Scene

The Pretty World of Mr. Cousins

WILLIAM ROMAN

A STRANGE horror can seize one, as at a Kafkan metamorphosis, as he feels a respectable magazine changing, in his hands, into another *Life* or *Look.* And *Saturday Review* is not changing into one kind of monster, like Kafka's hero become a giant beetle; a more complicated anomaly is here being formed. Pictures, slick paper, headlines, boxes, diagrams and charts break up the printed matter and thrust it at one as in that long advertisement called *Life.*

"Trade Winds" is a laugh column from *Look,* the travel section a page from *Holiday;* the science issues ape a range of magazines, descending even to *Mechanix Illustrated.* The record section is a whole issue of *Hi-Fi.* The "box score" summaries of detective stories, records and other items ("Pick of the Paperbacks") recall that breed of stuttering midgets which came out with *Quick.* (The "departmental" headlines belong in such magazines—like the helpful classification, "Ideas," over an article on Zen Buddhism.) Needless to say, the endless J. Wesley Smith cartoons are stolen from a high school magazine edited by the history teacher.

I must confess an immediate prejudice—a foreboding, before I could justify it, that such a format, such an attempt to be everything to everybody, will not admit much weight or depth in the writing. Such shiny pools may as well be shallow; it is too hard to see beneath the brilliantly-lit surface. This is all right for *Life,* which advances no claim to profundity; but *Saturday Review* did, and does. And it is believed. It was, for instance, the journal most heavily drawn on (with *Partisan Review* running second) for the contents and bibliographies of the scholarly *Mass Culture*—ironically, considering their mass-sale format. Yet this is fitting, too, since that book sought complete coverage of rather obvious phenomena; to include all entertainments, it even commissioned a dull essay on card playing in America. This is just the kind of thing *Saturday Review* is good at. It has something obvious to say on every subject.

Any real fan of detective stories (and I am one), resents the uniform praise given them all in *Saturday Review;* and this "box score" of murder books is a symbol of the attitude displayed in most of the reviews. A recent one begins: "Excellently documented, thoughtfully conceived, beautifully written, and keenly stimulating analysis." This is not a reviewer's dream of the way he would have treated the *Republic's* appearance in an Athenian journal; merely comment on another book. Of course, when something "important," like *By Love Possessed,* comes along, theophany is greeted with rapture: "almost embarassingly intelligent . . . greatest moral vision."

As for the magazine's view of our literary situation as a whole, the caption to a triptych of photographs showing three unshaven men sums it up: "The generation which has produced Saul Bellow, Ralph Ellison, and Wright Morris has no right to complain." In this never-never land a man *can* pretend he is reviewing the *Republic,* as did the man who entitled his review of an Adlai Stevenson book "Poet-Philosopher in Politics."

It must be dull to live in so uniformly pretty a world. The ragings and insults of Ciardi, *Saturday Review's* poetry editor, give a kind of life to the thing, but who can be frightened by a tiger in such an or-

TIME says:
"Strange sounds from the Communist jungle . . . gruesome and highly revealing . . . . a complete account of a Communist education from grade school to commissar level."

Child of the Revolution

by Wolfgang Leonhard

Major reviewers have been unanimous in their praise of this personal story of a man who broke with Stalinism and yet remained determinedly "Socialist."

"... a shocking revelation of Russia's shrewdness and American tardiness in the education of youth." —*Detroit Times*

"... an interesting and revealing book..." *N. Y. Herald Tribune*

"... this one is fascinating." —*N. Y. Times*

At all bookstores, $6.50

HENRY REGNERY COMPANY
Chicago 4, Ill.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

derly cage? The question remains: why go to all the trouble of putting together a magazine to tell us that every week, in thousands of ways, we're getting nicer and nicer? The magazine likes to air the amorphous religiosity of Albert Schweitzer's Life-drive and Julian Huxley's Life-perfection. The Life-force accounts for the pilgrimage of Cousins to Gunsbach—and for editorials that attack boxing and the inhuman hunting of geese. The Huxley dream must be blamed for titles as awkward as "The Acheless Tooth Prophet" and as mawkish as "The Poetry of Science."

Norman Cousins is always discovering the Life-force, as in his blind friend who can tell the top step from the next-to-top by atmospheric pressure. Fellow apes, there goes our descendant, evolving out of sight. As he puts it, "The greatest era in history is ours for the taking . . . there is no arid area that cannot be made fertile . . . no scarcity that cannot be conquered."

Elmo Roper picks up Cousins' "higher loyalty to life" and defines it as the surrender of sovereignty to UN and world government. Let the planners take over and rule out war, along with disease and cruelty to animals. Of course this mentality had to exist behind the very layout of *Saturday Review*—a mystique of inclusion, of dilution, of the ignoring of differences (which is to ignore *definition* and *idea*). The mind which envisions an "Esperanto" culture, melting all peoples into one by finding their intellectual Lowest Common Denominator, will invite all ideas to surrender *their* sovereignty, their virginity of meaning, and to meet in nameless fellowship between the covers of a magazine. The only villains are the "narrow-minded," the "warmongers," who retain their identity and stay outside.

It is quaint that such twentieth-century schemes as world government should again be advocated with all the arguments of the nineteenth-century Liberal, the "philanthropist" and worshipper of "progress." For Schweitzer is at heart another Bishop Colenso; Huxley and Cousins and Roper sponsor as sentimental a Liberalism as that of Malthus, Mill and Bentham. The doctrine is changed, but the emotional drives are the same. Man will be perfected by science, enterprise (collectivist now, not capitalistic), and good will toward one's inferiors. The serenity of Victoria, the dumpling Queen, presides over the optimism and mediocrity of our "modern" review.

The transition and dilution of the magazine has been going on for a long time; and it will continue at an accelerated pace. One cannot undertake to satisfy everyone with a broad sweep of glossy novelties without suffering the fate of all who cater to the appetite for multiplicity and novelty: always to give more, and newer, and shinier, like the designers in Detroit. Breadth sacrifices depth; a certain evaporation of strength always goes with elephantiasis. The magazine is now so slick it is difficult to keep it from sliding out of one's grasp. I think I will quit trying.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE COUNTERFEIT TRAITOR, by Alexander Klein (Holt, $3.95). Eric Erickson, Brooklyn-born and Cornell-educated, was approached in Stockholm by the American Ambassador to Russia in 1939 and asked to act as a spy for the Allies. Erickson, a prominent oil importer, had become a Swedish citizen three years before. Due to his strong anti-Nazi sentiment, he consented, and there began one of the most successful espionage operations of World War II. It was Erickson's mission to make regular trips to Germany under the guise of establishing trade between Germany and Sweden. His real activity consisted in gathering crucial data for Allied bombers on the location of German oil refineries. Operating under the constant surveillance of the Gestapo and other arms of the secret police, he was able to hoodwink even the suspicious Himmler himself. The activities of Erickson and the network of agents he enlisted were extremely effective. By 1944, the Germans were in a gasoline crisis, largely because of the Allied Air Forces' superb intelligence in this field. Mr. Klein's book is an exciting telling of the Erickson story.

J. H. BECK.

A PRIMER FOR CORONARY PATIENTS, by Robert J. Needles, M.D. and Edith M. Stoney (Appleton-Century-Crofts, $3.75). We are coming more and more to realize that an illness of any kind—and especially those which, like cancer or heart disease, do not originate in a mere "germ," or "virus"—is as much an inside job as an outside one. Not only our bodies and the weather, but our nerves, fears, pride, and most hidden wilfulness may be involved. Hence the least any sane man can do is acquaint himself with the physical symptoms, especially where the heart is concerned; and it is to forearm us to this extent that Dr. Needles and his collaborator have prepared this little primer. It is brisk and explicit, telling what to watch for, what to do, what to expect. When I had finished it, I found myself quite selfishly wishing that instead of conducting a practice in St. Petersburg, Florida, Dr. Needles had an office here in the Catskills, where I happen to live. He sounds like a man who understands not only medical science, but human frailty. R. PHELPS

I WAS A SLAVE IN RUSSIA, by John Noble (Devin-Adair, $3.75). In preparation for the proposed "summit" meeting, the President could not do better than read this book. This is the Odyssey of an American who was picked up by the Russians in Germany and shuttled from prison to prison for nine years, finding himself finally digging coal for the commissars in the notorious Vorkuta mines. He seems to have been shanghaied for no other reason than that the Russians needed slave labor; and he might have died up there in the Arctic but for an accidental discovery of his whereabouts by his family. Noble was at Vorkuta at the time Khrushchev launched his anti-Stalin campaign, and reports that the prisoners took his promises with a large dose of salt. Apparently, prisoners know more about Communists than do diplomats. F. CHODOROV

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Educationist Book-Burners

About four years ago, the late *Collier's* began publishing a series of articles on public schools by Mr. Howard Whitman. As Mr. Whitman visited schools over the face of the nation, he became increasingly impressed with the failure of American public schooling; and his dismay appeared, though moderately and good-naturedly, in his articles. Even this mild criticism enraged the hierarchs of the National Education Association. They retaliated by organizing a campaign of protest-letters to Crowell-Collier Corporation: and they proceeded to boycott *Collier's*. They sent letters to the principals of all schools, informing them that *Collier's* was "against education," and that it ought to be stricken from the list of magazine-subscriptions sold by school pupils to raise class funds. This assault is said to have cost *Collier's* some hundreds of thousands of dollars in subscriptions.

Collier's, even then a failing magazine, gave way abjectly. Representatives of Crowell-Collier Corporation promised the educationist hierarchs that they would sin no more, and that they never again would publish anything, on any subject, by Mr. Howard Whitman—a professional journalist. The NEA then forgave *Collier's*. But there is one thing the reading public never forgives, and that is dullness. The dread of "controversial topics" which plagued *Collier's* soon bore that magazine to its grave, anyway.

Now, during the week of March 24, 1958, *Life* published a courageous and intelligent full-page editorial on the schools—t o u c h i n g, among other things, on the Holland Christian High School case, previously discussed in this page of NATIONAL REVIEW [March 22]. *Time* conspicuously reprinted a part of that editorial: In the same week, the *Saturday Evening Post* published an admirable editorial on the same theme, also referring to Holland Christian. *Cosmopolitan*, and other monthlies, too, have been daring to suggest that our schools are not perfect. The NEA hierarchy grew wrathy. These pestilent magazines must be taught their place.

With singular stupidity, the NEA officers chose to begin their retaliation by an assault on the Luce magazines. Through the National Association of Secondary-School Principals, they got up another letter-writing campaign, commanding all faithful principals (16,500 belong to the organization) to write letters of protest to the president of *Time*, Inc. About 350 of them obeyed. The instructions from on high suggested that schools ought not to subscribe to *Time* and *Life*, because they don't tell the wonderful truth about our splendid schools. Mr. Paul E. Elicker, executive secretary of the Association of Principals, informed *Time* that he was amazed "that you should allow such a distorted presentation, definitely inimitable to American education."

Yes, "inimitable." I do hope that the *Life* editorial and articles on education will be widely imitated. But what Mr. Elicker meant, presumably, was "inimical." Who cares about the meaning of words, anyway? Our schools, you know, do the much greater work of "teaching our wonderful boys and girls to learn to live with all the world."

Time and *Life* have replied in words of vitriol to this insolence; and *Time*, I need not remind you, has a timeless memory for enemies. I feel sure we may look forward cheerfully to many more editorials and articles in Luce magazines on the schools. The NEA tactics applied to a cripple like *Collier's* will have quite an opposite effect when applied to great, strapping fellows like *Life* and *Time*. Several influential newspapers and columnists have denounced this attempt at censorship by the NEA, and the whole affair probably will cost the educationist hierarchs dear in influence and reputation.

Alternately, the NEA and its affiliates have wooed and bullied the American press. A good many local newspapers have been intimidated by the educationist threats; in Michigan, many newspapers did not venture to mention the Holland Christian High scandal until *Life*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and NATIONAL REVIEW took it up nationally. To date, the Holland, Michigan, daily paper has not dared to print anything on the subject—and has not given the Associated Press any information about it. The NEA hierarchs are extremely fond of verbose speeches about "education for a democratic society"—and still more attached to totalitarian methods whenever their interest is involved.

Educationist cajolery of the press has been as heavy-handed, and as anti-intellectual, as the bullying. A distinguished editorial writer, some months ago, went to a conference which an NEA affiliate held to bring together educators and journalists. The principal speaker, an educationist official, began by saying patronizingly to the journalists assembled, "Now, we don't want to use mysterious words like 'theory.'" It soon became clear to my informant that for the educationists at the conference, "theory" really was a mysterious word. If the NEA is going to boycott *Time*, *Life*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and every other popular magaizne in which articles critical of public-school methods have appeared recently, school libraries and school magazine-subscription salesmen are going to be left with nothing but *Playboy* and *True Confessions*. But to judge by the educationists' vocabulary, those are the only magazines they read nowadays, anyway.

I suggest that notes of congratulation to the editorial writers of *Life* are in order. I suggest, also, that it might do no harm for people to inquire whether their local high-school library has cancelled subscriptions to *Life* and *Time;* and, if anything of the sort has happened, to preach to the local principal a sermon on the freedom to read. We have suffered a good while under NEA insolence, but our patience need not be unlimited.

(Reprints of this article are available at 15 cents each, 100 for $10.00. Address Department R, NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To the Editor

The Soviet Price System

I should like to correct a small error that appears in Robert V. Jones' extremely interesting and enlightening article, "The Soviet Price System" [April 12].

Marx did not hold the theory that "the entire value of the product should go to the laborer." Some Socialists, including some of Marx' followers, have done so, but Marx himself exposed its rather obvious fallacies in *Critique of the Gotha Program.*

Kent, Conn. JAMES BURNHAM

A Debate on the "Times"

As a daily reader of the *New York Times* and a weekly reader of NATIONAL REVIEW, I found your attack on the *Times* in "The New York Times Debates an Issue" [April 12] both unfair and misleading.

The excellent and world-wide reputation of the *Times* is based primarily on the vast quantity, scrupulous objectivity, and complete reliability of its news coverage. As long as the *Times*' standards on these matters do not change, this reputation will remain high, deservedly, whatever appears on the editorial page. You nowhere offer a shred of evidence that these standards of news coverage have changed.

Nevertheless you are quite right in asserting that a paper like the *Times* has an additional responsibility to be fair on its editorial page. If, as you say, it has failed to meet this responsibility in printing "Jenner-cum-Butler," you have failed to show it. You fail to mention that the *Times* had printed, previous to the editorial, the complete text of the crucial Supreme Court decisions, comprehensive coverage of the variety of opinions on them, and a complete account of the provisions of the Jenner Bill and the Butler amendments. Moreover, it had also printed, on the editorial page, a detailed analysis of the bill and the decisions it was designed to correct, together with the reasons for opposing the bill.

Thus, by the time of this editorial, the *Times* was perfectly justified in printing an editorial which was not, nor did it pretend to be, more than an expression of opinion. . . .

Finally, it is worth noting that the *Times* printed, *on the editorial page,* not only Professor Corwin's letter, which you gleefully reprinted, but a devastating reply to it by Professor Black of Yale, which I have been unable to find on your pages. Brings to mind something about people in glass houses.

Providence, R.I. JAMES M. SMITH

1. The only serious favorable analyses of the Jenner Bill were made before the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee. These were not reported by the *Times,* nor has the *Times* invited a single defender of the bill to express his views in the Sunday Magazine. The result is that *Times* readers are conditioned to agree with editorial judgments which, irresponsibly, imply that endorsers of the bill are political primitives. Even if the *Times had* reported fully the debate on the Jenner Bill, its editorial "Jenner-cum-Butler" stands condemned for its arrant demagogy.

2. Professor Edward Corwin did not analyze the Jenner Bill, or dissect the objectionable decisions of the Supreme Court: he merely registered his misgivings about the Warren Court. Professor Charles Black's retort was not, in our judgment, newsworthy a) because he made no point that had not elsewhere been made, and dealt with; and b) because Mr. Black, however promisingly he has launched his career, has not achieved oracular status, and therefore his judgments, unlike those of Mr. Corwin, are not yet newsworthy.

THE EDITORS

"Verdict for Freedom"

A few years ago the subject of divine grace unexpectedly came up during a meeting of Southern educators. When asked to define the term she had used, the female Ph.D replied: "Ah just can't tell you what it is, but ah sure love to think and talk about it."

The article "Verdict for Freedom" [March 15] by one Frank Hughes reminded me of this incident. It is obvious that Mr. Hughes loves to think, write and talk about freedom of the press but he just can't tell what it is.

Before mentioning Title 18, Section 12, of the United States Code his arguments prove, if anything, that civil law, like the Bible, can be turned to anyone's destruction. Subsequently his article reveals:

1. Some enlightening observations on the membership of the Chicago Bar Association (but fails utterly to show that the particular Truman Administration law in question has destroyed or is apt to destroy anyone. Perhaps if Mr. Hughes ever runs for President the law will afford him some measure of protection from cowardly anonymous mudslingers).

2. A little negligence on the part of two undoubtedly patriotic gentlemen almost landed them in the clink (but so will carelessness on the part of any driver caught going eighty in a thirty-mile zone—an infringement, of course, on his freedom to determine his own speed.)

3. That an intelligent American jury fortunately saw that the patriots never meant to be lawbreakers.

In the light of these premises Mr. Hughes' conclusion is really a beaut: "The proper course, therefore, is to expunge this vicious and patently unconstitutional law from the federal statutes right now."

Sir, even the NEA will not tolerate this divorce of logic from rhetoric.

Miami, Fla. LOUIS M. O'LEARY

Mr. Hughes deposes that, unlike the female Ph.D., he knows what he is thinking, writing and talking about. Freedom of the press, in six words, is "freedom from the restraint of government." That is all it is today, all it ever was, and all it ever shall be. Nobody but government ever fettered or restrained the press, Robert Maynard Hutchins and Morris Ernst notwithstanding, nor ever will.

Title 18 was and is a rotten law. I said so at the start of the article, and repeated it at the end. It came so close to destroying the "two undoubtedly patriotic gentlemen" I wrote about that the old truism they

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

teach rookie policemen applies—"You don't have to kill somebody to prove a gun is a dangerous weapon . . . Take the sergeant's word for it."

I fear Mr. O'Leary's letter proves that you can't make a syllogism out of three premises, as he tries to do above, especially when the second is false. Using his own analogy, to drive eighty miles an hour in a thirty-mile zone is carelessness punishable by infringement of freedom. But to be thrown in the can for walking down the street without having a sign giving your full name and address hanging from your neck—just because the street happens to be a federal highway—that, Mr. O'Leary, is "patently unconstitutional."

Chicago, Ill. FRANK HUGHES

Menshikov Will Understand

"Coexisting with Capone" [March 29] is superb—a comprehensive exposure of the folly of current thinking in high places by men who profess to be Liberals or Modern Republicans, and who are converting this country into a luxury-loving nation of cowards. . . .

Our phony intellectuals may not understand the subtle implications of "Uncle Al," and the many other quotes, but the new smiling Ambassador of sweetness from the Kremlin to the United States will get the meaning.

New York City R. NELSON HICKMAN

A Ph.D. Protests

Several times references were made in your excellent magazine to education courses and the silliness thereof. Those who have taken such courses and have worked as classroom teachers find that there are two types of education courses: the "philosophical," where the emphasis is on indoctrinating the future teacher in the prevailing philosophy of education, and the "practical," the methods and materials courses. Though the value of the former is open to question, the latter, especially in special subjects like home economics, physical education, or music, are vitally essential for future teachers. A well-run methods course informs its students *what*, as well as *how*, to teach; its purpose is to coordinate subject-matter background in enabling the prospective teacher to communicate his knowledge to his future students and to evaluate textbooks and other instructional materials. It seems apparent that those who indiscriminately condemn methods courses have neither taken them nor have had experience in classroom teaching.

Bel Air, Md. R. MORGAN LONGYEAR, PH.D.

The Ultimate Choice

With great interest and pleasure I read the Editorial "The South Seas Chapter" and the article "Dilemmas of Foreign Policy," both in the March 29 issue. Let me warmly thank you for having so farsightedly, candidly, and both from a moral and political point of view, solidly explained the real significance of today's drama, the precise knowledge of which is very important in the East-West struggle. . . .

It may become so late that there will be no other choice but total surrender to Communism or World War III. Or, maybe, so late that there will not be given us even that choice but the tragic fact of having become the defeated victim of the international Communist "salami tactics."

Pope Pius XII has repeatedly urged the peoples not to sell out each other: "It would be a fatal error to repeat what, in similar circumstances, happened during the years preceding the Second World War, when all the threatened nations, and not merely the smallest, sought their safety at the expense of others. . . . In the end all were together overwhelmed in the holocaust" (Christmas Message, 1956).

Santa Ana, Cal. REV. GILBERT MIHALYI

Alice-in-the-White-House

Ike's attitude towards tax-reduction makes one feel almost as confused as Alice-in-Wonderland, when the White Queen offered her a job at: "Two pence a week, and jam every other day."

Alice couldn't help laughing, as she said: "I don't want you to hire *me*—and I don't care for jam."

"It's very good jam," said the Queen.

"Well, I don't want any *today*, at any rate."

"You couldn't have it if you *did* want it," the Queen said. "The rule is, jam tomorrow and jam yesterday—but never jam *today*!"

New York City MARY REISNER

RUSSELL KIRK
Author of *The Conservative Mind*
is now editing *MODERN AGE:*
A CONSERVATIVE REVIEW
Quarterly—$3.00 a year
FREE COPY ON REQUEST
Write Foundation for
Foreign Affairs, Inc.
64 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

CLASSIFIED

NATIONAL REVIEW *accepts classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature.* NATIONAL REVIEW *reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable. Rates per insertion: 40¢ per word, minimum 10 words; 30¢ per word for 25 or more insertions per year. If a box number is desired, count two extra words. Text, accompanied by full payment in the form of cash, check or money order, must be received 17 days before publication date. All responses to box numbers will be forwarded and postage billed periodically. Mail to be called for at* NATIONAL REVIEW *will be held 60 days only. Address: Classified Dept.,* NATIONAL REVIEW, *211 East 37th Street, New York 16, N.Y.*

MAKE VACATION PLANS NOW! Worldwide service to suit individual requirements. Margaret Cone Travel Service, 520 5th Ave., N.Y. 36, OX 7-0796.

TOP CALIBER ADMINISTRATOR seeks a change and a publisher or president who needs a man of superlative leadership qualifications and ability. Has valuable and unique combination of ten years of successful multi-plant experience with top industries in their field as Plant Manager, Training Director and Industrial Relations Director. Plus two years as free-lance writer on national and international affairs. Knows how to get along with people and can get them to work as a team. Sound character and integrity, pleasing personality, can think clearly and logically. Has imagination, vision, common-sense, good judgment and courage. Only interested in those who are strongly anti-Communist with *National Review* philosophy. Writings and resumé upon request. Box 35.

PERSONABLE COLLEGE JUNIOR, male, experienced in politics, newspaper work, radio, desires interesting summer employment, preferably travel. Box 70.

ARTIST WANTED (apprentice) to work in Promotion Dept. of large New York newspaper. Wonderful opportunity for young man or woman of creative ability who can do better than average promotion. Must be able to handle direct mail as well as advertising. Strong on ideas and B and W spots. Advancement, security and pleasant working conditions. Box 100.

UNIQUE 12" LP RECORD, "Bert and I." Maine anecdotes as told by two Down Easters. Price $4.98. Write "Bert and I," 6 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass.

SPEAKERS FOR the May 26 Crusade for America forum will be Wm. F. Buckley Jr., and L. Brent Bozell. To receive full information, write Crusade for America, 51 Front St., Rockville Center, L.I., N.Y.

THE END OF McCARTHY. Reprints of National Review feature articles on the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, available 25c each, 100 for $15. Dept. R, National Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What can your dollar do about Multiple Sclerosis?

1. It will help support research seeking to isolate the cause of this mysterious crippling disease. Over 50 separate research projects investigating the nature of Multiple Sclerosis are now under way.

2. It will help provide care for the people who have already been struck down by Multiple Sclerosis. There are 38 clinics in the United States which are either supported by the Multiple Sclerosis Society or are particularly interested in the disease.

3. It will contribute to the Fellowship and Scholarship Program of the National Multiple Sclerosis Society. This program encourages basic research among young scientists in areas related to the disease.

4. It will help inform the American public about this grim disease. Multiple Sclerosis afflicts 500,000 Americans and yet its symptoms are relatively unknown to the average person.

5. It *may* contribute to a major breakthrough in the battle to find the cure for Multiple Sclerosis. The first such breakthrough occurred in 1957 when a young researcher at the Washington University School of Medicine discovered that the site of disabling Multiple Sclerosis is a structure called the glial cell.

This vastly important work could not have been done without the contributions of people like you to the National Multiple Sclerosis Society.

National Multiple Sclerosis Society
257 Fourth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: Enclosed please find my contribution to the battle against Multiple Sclerosis.

Name_____

Street Address_____

City_____ **Zone**____ **State**_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED